602 found a means to adopt the real ID card and if that was politically feasible, then that would be one mechanism they specifically mention in the report as a way to do that; is that correct? MR. MOORE: Right. And that's what many countries overseas do which have a national ID and require photo IDs at the polls because it --CHAIRMAN SMITH: But we're all kind of agreeing that that turned out not to be a feasible way to get that done; is that correct? MR. MOORE: I don't think there's political support for it. CHAIRMAN SMITH: Yeah, at this point. But -- so, the principle -- you know, without getting into the details, the principle they are recommending is that to the extent that you enhance security, that you simultaneously take some affirmative step on the part of the state to expand access and to expand the number of potential registered voters; is that correct? MR. MOORE: And expand the number of people that have ID, which was part of that, too. CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay. All right.

Yes, Mr. Bonnen.

REPRESENTATIVE BONNEN: You're neutral on

the bill; is that right?



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MR. MOORE: Yes.

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REPRESENTATIVE BONNEN: Let me ask you about politicalization again. Are you familiar with the WASHINGTON POST article last Wednesday, April the 1st, about the Justice Department's conclusion on the DC voting rights bill?

MR. MOORE: Yes, I saw that and I'm familiar with the article. I'm familiar with the issue, yes.

REPRESENTATIVE BONNEN: Well, what's the issue then?

MR. MOORE: The issue, I believe, in that article was that there had been a memo that advised that the bill might be unconstitutional and Holder -- Attorney General Holder had overwritten that memo.

REPRESENTATIVE BONNEN: He actually ordered a second opinion from other lawyers in his department and determined that the legislation would pass muster, a finding that the Voting Rights bills runs afoul of the constitution could complicate an upcoming House vote and more vulnerable to legal challenges of the Supreme Court but, when asked, a seasoned Justice Department individual says they saw concern and then Holder said he wanted the office of legal counsel -- I'm sorry, not the legal counsel. Who did he ask for then? Solicitor general then. So, do you think we're moving away from



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politicalization?

MR. MOORE: Well, I think you're right and there's always going to be question and there's always going to be a shadowing over and there always has been and it goes back to Robert Kennedy and everything else but I do want to go back and say that the -- the degree to which the civil rights division was criticized from about 2002, 2003 to 2007 was unique in the history of the division and it was very unfortunate but you're right and it's going to be something that's going to take increased transparency and it's going to take increased scrutiny to make sure that that is not repeated on either side.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: But I guess the concern is that it sounds as if we are headed in that direction.

MR. MOORE: I think it's a little early and that one memo, I don't think, is really conclusive as to what -- I'm not willing to say that the mistakes of the last few years are going to be repeated in the Obama administration, not yet anyway.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Even though the Attorney General is not agreeing with long-term Justice lawyers who say there is a problem and then he asks for something that's -- apparently I'm not that schooled in



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this -- highly unusual and says he wants the solicitor general's office, I think I got that right?

MR. MOORE: I think if that becomes a pattern, then that would be a concern to have but speaking totally from a --

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: No, I understand. And I guess my concern is when you say becoming a pattern, is it important whether it's a pattern or not or if it's on the rare occasions it happens what the issues are, like DC voting rights, that's a pretty significant issue, so, there only may be say two significant issues in the next three years but on those two, you see these type of situations occur, then that's That may not be what I would call a pattern. an issue.

Well, I think the Department of MR. MOORE: Justice is going to have more than two significant issues over the next three years that could hopefully --

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: follow what I'm saying, even if it's not --

MR. MOORE: You know, if that turns out, like I said, to be something that happens again -- in a case like this in which it's, obviously, in the Democrat -- Democratic's party interest to have a vote for DC, then I would be worried that that was --

> UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Can you point to any



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Hopefully, but you

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other decisions that Justice Department has made that would show us they're not going to be -- there won't be politicalization that they've made since they've been in administration?

MR. MOORE: I'm sorry, it's just too early and we just don't have enough of a --

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: That's what, I guess,
I'm trying to drive at. I mean, I don't know enough
about what decisions they've had available or issues
have come up but, I mean, is this the only one or are
there others that they maybe went the correct direction
on or didn't show a degree of politicalization? Is this
it for their short tenure?

MR. MOORE: I just don't know.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Thank you.

CHAIRMAN SMITH: There's been some reference to this editorial, and I want to just take a second to read a little part of it here.

February 3rd, 2008 by Jimmy Carter and James Baker. It says: This is a major election year. Unfortunately, our two major political parties, Democratic and Republican, continue to disagree on some of the rules that apply to the administration of our elections. This divide is perhaps most contentious when the issue becomes one of whether voters should present



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photo identification to vote. 27 states require at least some form of ID to vote. Supporters of this policy argue that if voters identify themselves before voting election fraud will be reduced.

Opponents of an ID requirement fear it will disenfranchise voters, especially the poor, members of minority groups and the elderly who are less likely than other voters to have suitable identification. The debate is polarized between proponents because most of the proponents are Republicans and most of the opponents are Democrats.

In 2005, we led a bipartisan commission on federal election reform and concluded that both parties' concerns were legitimate. A free and fair election requires both ballot security and full access to voting. We offered a proposal to bridge the partisan divide by suggesting a uniform voter photo ID based on the Federal Real ID Act of 2005 to be phased in over five years.

To help with the transition, states would provide free voter photo ID cards to eligible citizens. Mobile units would be sent out to provide the IDs to registered voters. Of the 21 members of the commission, only 3 dissented on the requirement for an ID.

No state has yet accepted our proposal. What's more, when it comes to ID laws, confusion reigns.



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The laws on the books, mainly backed by Republicans, have not made it easy enough for voters to acquire an ID.

At the same time, Democrats have tended to try to block voter ID legislation outright instead of seeking to revise that legislation to promote accessibility.

When lower courts have considered challenges to state laws on the question of access, their decisions have not been consistent and in too many instances individual judges have appeared to vote along partisan lines.

Fortunately, the Supreme Court has taken on a case involving a challenge to Indiana's voter ID law. The Court, which heard arguments last months and is expected to render a judgment this term, has the power finally to bring clarity to this crucial issue.

The report goes on to indicate that the American University Center for Democracy indicates that only about 1.2 percent of registered voters lack a photo ID.

I guess that's the statistic that you were early citing.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Mr. Chair, just real quickly, what was the date on that letter?



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609 February 3rd, 2008. 1 CHAIRMAN SMITH: 2 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Okav. I referred earlier to a op-ed by Carter and Baker from September, 3 4 So, you're reading from a different document than 5 what I eluded to, just for the record. CHAIRMAN SMITH: What is the date of yours? 6 7 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: September 23rd, 2005. 8 It was discussed on the House floor during the 2007 9 session. 1.0 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay. 11 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: All right. 12 CHAIRMAN SMITH: And I'm just saying it is the very spirit of this document that I'm hoping we can 13 14 try to be the -- the only state that has managed to find 15 the middle ground on this issue and to expand access at 16 the same time that we enhance security. 17 certainly what we're going to try to do. 18 Any other questions, members, of this 19 Any other questions? Any other comments? 20 MR. MOORE: No . It's been a long day but --21 CHAIRMAN SMITH: We certainly appreciate you 22 taking the time to stick with us and apologize for the 23 length of time --24 Thank you for your time. MR. MOORE: 25 CHAIRMAN SMITH: -- that you had to wait.



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1	UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Okay. Is there
2	anyone else here which
3	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Oh, we wanted to bring the
4	Attorney General back.
5	UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: You're joking, right?
6	UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: For?
7	(Inaudible)
8	CHAIRMAN SMITH: With the Attorney General's
9	office?
10	Anybody have any questions for Mr. Nichols
11	with the Attorney General's office?
12	UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I have a handful.
13	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay. Come on up.
14	UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I want it for the
15	record.
16	CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay. State your name, who
17	you represent. Have you filled out a form?
18	UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: He gave it to you.
19	MR. NICHOLS: I did fill out a form, Mr.
20	Chairman.
21	Good morning. Eric Nichols, Deputy Attorney
22	General for Criminal Justice.
23	Happy birthday.
24	REPRESENTATIVE DR. ALLEN: Thanks.
25	UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Let's get this right.



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611 MR. NICHOLS: That should have come first. 1 I apologize, Dr. Allen. 2 3 REPRESENTATIVE DR. ALLEN: That's all right. 4 Thank you. 5 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Can I go, Mr. Chairman? 6 7 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Yes. UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Eric, how are you? 8 9 Good morning to you. 1.0 Earlier today there was some discussion 11 about Waller County and the Texas Attorney General's 12 involvement in the alleged misconduct out there. 13 the complaints was that you all didn't devote adequate 14 resources to that particular problem. Does the Texas 15 Attorney General have authority to pursue civil actions 16 under Voting Rights Act? 17 MR. NICHOLS: No, sir. That's the exclusive 18 province of the Department of Justice, the civil rights 19 division. 20 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: So, what do you have 21 authority to pursue? Criminal violations under the 22 Texas Election Code? 23 MR. NICHOLS: Yes, sir. As I testified 24 before this body and before the Senate, we do have 25 original but not exclusive jurisdiction to prosecute



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criminal violations of the Election Code.

And so, our -- our statutory authority in the area is limited to acting upon referrals of allegations of violations of the criminal provisions of the Election Code.

We take those referrals. We thoroughly investigate those referrals. If there are facts and the law warrants presentation of those cases to a Grand Jury, they will be so presented.

A Grand Jury makes a decision about whether those cases will be indicted and if they are -- if the Grand Jury makes a decision to proceed with an indictment, then our office will be involved in prosecuting the case from there forward.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: The Department of

Justice filed a lawsuit against Waller County, correct?

MR. NICHOLS: Yes, sir.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: And they required the county to enter a consent decree. Did the federal lawsuit alleged any criminal conduct?

MR. NICHOLS: No, sir, it did not, and -- and I believe that what was confirmed, I think, by President Bledsoe in what he testified to before the Senate and testified to here today is that the Attorney General's office was not only involved but was



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instrumental in getting the Department of Justice to take the actions that it did and, in fact, the results of the investigation that our office conducted, which included impounding election records from Waller County and interviews of the persons involved, that information was provided to the Department of Justice, which then informed us at the time that the consent decree was entered that that investigation was critical to the work that they were able to do to seek the civil remedies that they were able to seek under the Voting Rights Act.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Do you think there's more that you could have done?

MR. NICHOLS: No, sir. At some point, I believe there was some testimony -- I believe it also came from President Bledsoe, which was accurate, that in order to prove a criminal violation, there is a need to be able to produce evidence and show that someone acted with intent, and I believe that President Bledsoe referred to the official suppression statute, which requires as an element that you show that a public official intentionally denied someone a right that they were entitled to.

And so, I -- my personal belief, based on my direct experience in dealing with the Department of Justice on this very case, is that the Attorney



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General's office fully discharged its duties given our purview of what we can and can't do.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I appreciate your testimony. I just wanted the committee to kind of hear that because we kind of got off on a trail today, and I just wanted to shed a little bit more light on kind of the overall of this particular situation. I want to thank you again for hanging in there until the very end. That's all the guestions I have.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: On that subject, I don't know if you're the person to ask this but is there something in place to protect African American communities from some sort of systematic effort to ensure that the lines are longer to vote in their communities than they are in other communities?

MR. NICHOLS: In terms of the actual administration of how the voting process works, and an issue in Waller County, for example, was, you know, where are you going to place the ballot boxes, is it appropriate in those elections to have ballot boxes on the campus of Prairie View A&M.

And on those questions of the -- the judgment of how the election should be held, of course, we vest a lot of authority in Texas at the county level,



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so, we give the elections administrators in the counties a lot of discretion.

Of course, they can seek guidance from and support from the Secretary of State's office, and then, of course, you have another level of supervision. If you conduct an election in such a way to disenfranchise voters, then you may get into a Voting Rights Act issue as well but on those administrative parts, we really rely on our elections administrators at the county level, subject to supervision of the Secretary of State and then, at a much higher level, the Voting Rights Act but those obvious -- for obvious reasons don't tend to be the kinds of criminal violations that we handle in my shop.

CHAIRMAN SMITH: So, if you've got bigoted leadership at the county level, they will seek advice of the Secretary of State to see how far they can push it before they cross a legal line?

MR. NICHOLS: I mean, it's entirely possible -- now, there are criminal statutes that deal with such issues as retaliation against voters. I mean, if someone retaliates against a voter for having voted a certain way, there is a criminal statute to deal with that but if it doesn't rise to that level of such knowing or intentional conduct, then you're really



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616 dealing with administrative issues that if the committee is interested in that kind of thing, you ought to be addressing with some of those administrative processes. CHAIRMAN SMITH: Any other questions? REPRESENTATIVE DR. ALLEN: I've got a question. CHAIRMAN SMITH: Dr. Allen. REPRESENTATIVE DR. ALLEN: Are there any ballot boxes on any campus in the State of Texas? MR. NICHOLS: I don't know, Dr. Allen. might want to ask the Secretary of State's office to see if that's ever done anywhere. And I can't recall off the top of my head. I can get a copy of that consent I can't recall whether the consent decree for you. decree that the DOJ entered into in the Waller County case spoke to the issue of where those ballot boxes were placed but I can certainly check for you. REPRESENTATIVE DR. ALLEN: Anvwhere in Texas, that's what I want to know. MR. NICHOLS: Yes, I'll check on that for you, Dr. Allen. Representative Anchia. CHAIRMAN SMITH:

REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: Mr. Nichols, just to

get an update, any -- have you prosecuted any cases of

in person voter impersonation at the polls as the



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Attorney General's office?

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MR. NICHOLS: We have among the -- I think the number is up to 31 prosecutions now. Among those 31 prosecutions, there are, by my count, probably 4 prosecutions that deal with in person conduct, in other words, some form of fraudulent conduct that --

REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: Does that include investigations?

MR. NICHOLS: No. That would just be prosecutions. And investigations, again, as you know, I hope I've been very clear that I don't want to be discussing --

REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: And I don't want you to. I just want to know if prosecutions would include as a subset investigations. I don't want you to discuss any investigations. You consider those two things separate?

MR. NICHOLS: I do and for obvious reasons, and -- and if I might, I just -- I can't stress enough to this committee and to everyone that's listening that from my perspective, there are reasons why the integrity of investigations need to be -- needs to be maintained, the integrity of investigations, and it is not helpful to the integrity of investigations to have anyone, someone in my position or a legislator to be talking



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618 1 publicly about ongoing investigations of any matter, 2 including Election Code violations. 3 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: And I'm not asking 4 you to discuss them publicly. You have investigations, 5 prosecutions. Any convictions? 6 MR. NICHOLS: Yes, sir. 7 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: Okay. In the 30 or 8 so? 9 MR. NICHOLS: Yes, sir. 1.0 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: Okay. And what fact 11 pattern? Was that for in person voter impersonation? 12 MR. NICHOLS: The cases have actually been resolved involving in person polling place conduct 13 14 included a case that involved someone actually 15 physically voting for voters that were escorted to the 16 polling place. 17 There were cases of -- where resident 18 aliens -- I think you and I talked about this case 19 before -- resident aliens were registered to vote by a 20 counsel woman in Calhoun County. REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: 21 Yeah. 22 MR. NICHOLS: And which resulted in not only 23 their being improperly registered to vote but actually going to the polling place and voting. 24 25 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: And we talked about



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619 You testified about that in the interim, correct? 1 2 MR. NICHOLS: Yes, sir. 3 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: Calhoun County? 4 MR. NICHOLS: Yes, sir. 5 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: And the -- your office determined that the people who voted did not have 6 the mens rea to commit voter fraud and that the actual 7 8 fraud was committed by the candidate by giving the 9 resident -- the legal permanent residents that 1.0 information about the fact that they could vote; is that 11 not correct? 12 MR. NICHOLS: Yes, sir, absolutely, that was the allegation in that case. 13 14 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: That was the fact 15 pattern there? 16 MR. NICHOLS: That in a very close election 17 that that politician had actively encouraged persons who 18 were not eligible to vote not only to register to vote 19 but actually to go vote. 20 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: Right, and that the 21 persons who did vote did not have the requisite mental 22 state to commit fraud, correct? 23 MR. NICHOLS: Yes, sir. They were not 24 prosecuted because we believe that they had been lied 25 to.



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620 Okay. 1 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: Okay. With 2 respect to the other case of in person voter 3 impersonation, what was the fact pattern? You said that 4 there was official misconduct where somebody was in the 5 polling place. MR. NICHOLS: And actually voted at the 6 7 actual voting station. 8 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: For the registered 9 voter, correct? 1.0 MR. NICHOLS: Yes, sir. REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: And in either of --11 12 based on your knowledge of the Senate Bill, in either of 13 those cases would implementation of Senate Bill 14 prevented -- have prevented that in person voter 15 impersonation? 16 MR. NICHOLS: I consider that to be a very 17 kind of abstract question. I haven't studied it but --18 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: Let me ask you this 19 question --20 MR. NICHOLS: Yes, sir. 21 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: -- did the legal 22 permanent residence have IDs in the Calhoun County case? 23 MR. NICHOLS: I do not know. 24 REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: Okay. Did -- would 25 a voter ID standard have prevented the official



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misconduct -- would have prevented the official misconduct at the polling location by the official who is voting the other people's ballot?

MR. NICHOLS: Again, it's not something that I've studied or would be able to offer kind of a hypothetical answer to.

REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: Okay. Okay. Do you know if IDs were presented in -- at the polling location when the official misconduct occurred?

MR. NICHOLS: I do not.

REPRESENTATIVE ANCHIA: Okay. Thank you.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Judge, I'm still not clear on what the allegation is with regard to someone voting for someone else. What specifically happened there?

MR. NICHOLS: A person escorted an elderly couple to the polls and then physically voted their ballots at the polling place.

CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay. So, in that instance, you had someone -- so, you're saying the elderly couple, from your understanding, went to the table and handled the process of getting the ballot themselves and then the other person took the ballots and went in and voted it, is that how it happened?

MR. NICHOLS: Yes, sir. Yes, sir.



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622 1 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay. Any other questions, 2 members? 3 (Inaudible) 4 MR. NICHOLS: Yes, it is fraudulent to cast 5 a ballot for -- for someone else. CHAIRMAN SMITH: I want to ask a quick 6 7 question of the Secretary of State. Is she still here? 8 Ann? Yes, you are. 9 Thank you. 10 MR. NICHOLS: Thank you. UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: 11 Thank you, Mr. 12 Nichols. 13 CHAIRMAN SMITH: State your name again and 14 who you represent. 15 John Sepehri, general counsel MR. SEPEHRI: 16 for the Secretary of State's office. 17 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay. 18 MS. MCGEEHAN: Ann McGeehan, Secretary of 19 State's office. 20 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay. Is there any way --21 have you all had -- I think we've talked about it at 22 some point in time. Is there any way to make any kind 23 of an informed judgment of if I give you a million 24 dollars how many people I can register in the state that 25 are not currently registered?



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MR. SEPEHRI: Well, I think there are a lot of factors outside of the appropriations process that could affect sort of the bang for buck you would get from that effort. I don't think we can -- we've talked about it and I don't think we can really quantify that for you.

CHAIRMAN SMITH: How would I go about getting some quantification of that? Who could help me with that? I guess it depends on how you spend the money.

MS. MCGEEHAN: Right. That was going to be my answer because I think it really depends on what policy changes you want to make, you know. I mean, there are various bills filed this session that might expand the franchise but --

MR. SEPEHRI: But it may or may not be hard for us to evaluate specific policies which expand the franchise on a dollar bang for the buck basis.

CHAIRMAN SMITH: I mean, do we have any other examples out there of people spending X number of money to register X number of voters?

MS. MCGEEHAN: I can't think of it that way as far as to kind of quantity, you know, the amount of money it costs to get folks register. I mean, that -- CHAIRMAN SMITH: Just can't help me?



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624 MR. SEPEHRI: It's a hard question. 1 2 It's probably not a direct MS. MCGEEHAN: 3 relationship I think is the --4 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Okay. I think that's all 5 the questions I have. UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Anyone else here 6 7 present to testify on or against SB 362? The Chair calls on Representative Smith to 8 9 close. CHAIRMAN SMITH: I close. 1.0 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: The Chair moves that 11 12 SB 362 will be left pending before the committee. 13 there any objections? The Chair here's none. 14 will be left pending before the committee. 15 CHAIRMAN SMITH: Members, thank you very 16 much for your patience and for hanging with us. 17 there are any comments or questions, the Chair moves that the House Committee on Elections stand adjourn 18 19 subject to the call of the Chair. 20 21 22 23 24 25



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EDITH A. BÖGGS, CSR

Certified Shorthand Reporter and Notary Public in and for the State of Texas

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